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WAR WITH FRANCE,
THE
ONLY SECURITY OF BRITAIN,
AT THE
PRESENT MOMENTOUS CRISIS:
SET FORTH IN AN
EARNEST ADDRESS TO HIS FELLOW-SUBJECTS,
BY
AN OLD ENGLISHMAN.

—Valour soars above
What the world calls misfortune and affliction.
These are not ills; else would they never fall
On Heav'n's first fav'rites, and the best of men.
The gods, in bounty, work up storms about us,
That give mankind occasion to exert
Their hidden strength, and throw out into practice
Virtues which shun the day, and lie conceal'd
In the smooth seasons, and the calms of life.

ADDISON'S CATO.

LONDON:
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1794.



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WAR WITH FRANCE, &c.

Friends and Countrymen,

WE are arrived at a CRISIS which calls for your collective wisdom, fortitude, and perseverance: since no less a stake than your independance as a nation, and your happiness as individuals, depend on your conduct, and on your determination of the present question. Hitherto, however obscured by the mist of uncertainty, or limited by the interposition of surrounding objects, our prospect of events may have been, it now opens full upon us; and we are in the state of an army, which having gained a commanding height, views the collective force of the enemy; as well as his disposition, and the scope of his designs. Let us

then resolve to profit by this knowledge; and to turn it to the account of our own security, and to his confusion and discomfiture !

You need not be told, that this enemy is your ancient and hereditary one, FRANCE; who having from the earliest times, envied your freedom and prosperity, has, like Lucifer of old, attempted to pull you down to his own level. And as bad minds are rendered still worse by intoxication, so your enemy, who is completely in that state, not only manifests a degree of malignity beyond what human nature has ever before witnessed, but is also in a temper of mind, to undertake the most desperate attempts against you.

The history of the changes that have taken place in that unhappy country, are but too well known to you. You regarded their first struggles for liberty, with a sympathy worthy of freemen: but as their national character gradually unfolded itself, you saw them incapable of receiving rational liberty.

Even then you pitied them: and it was not until they degenerated into savage beasts, and threatened to devour you, that you shut the door against them, and stood on the defensive.

My countrymen, the conduct of the French furnishes an awful lesson to the whole world. To you, as freemen, it shews the value of that freedom, which having been gradually established, is therefore suited to your nature and disposition. And to that part of the world which has yet its liberty to establish, it shews, that it is only by slow degrees, that true and permanent liberty can be established. The reason plainly is, that mankind are not prepared to adapt their conduct to sudden and violent changes, after having grown up in particular habits. For instance, a slave who has just *liberated himself*, may think that he is free to kill his master, and to plunder his house. We also find that tumults, if by chance they happen, in despotic countries, produce murders, and every other atrocious

act of wickedness ; which is entirely owing to the suddenness of the change.

We have now seen the full effect of a sudden and violent change of government, in a nation whose individuals had been so little accustomed to think for themselves, in matters of government, that their emancipation may be compared at best to that of a set of children, suddenly left to their own guidance. If I should say, *mischievous* children, the reader will not think me too severe : and it would have been fortunate for the human race, had the powers of mischief of the former, been as circumscribed as those of the latter : and that they had restricted themselves to the defacing of statues, and to the robbing of gardens and orchards.

In the different degrees of civilization under which we view mankind on our globe, we have opportunities of learning how very slowly the progress towards improvement has been, during the period that has fallen under our own observation : insomuch, that one of the most obvious

remarks, is, “ what a long time it requires to cultivate and improve human nature, in the mass !” This being understood, we cannot wonder that the French, without experience in legislation, and rendered giddy by looking down from the great elevation to which they had so suddenly raised themselves, should precipitate themselves into errors ; more especially when we take into the account, their national character and propensities ; and which their countryman, Voltaire, briefly exemplifies, by calling them a mixed race of MONKEYS and TIGERS. For having found themselves sufficiently strong to oppose and awe the existing government, their leaders, instead of introducing improvements into the old government, and which might, possibly, have been gradually ameliorated (like our own), they rudely overturned it at once : and under the insanity of supposing that a new code of laws, founded on an entirely different principle from the old one, would suit a nation, already grown servilely corrupt under their for-

mer government ; and possessing little virtue, besides what consisted in a blind obedience to its decrees ; they ventured on the turbulent ocean of democracy, without either rudder or compass. They might have been aware, that laws are nothing more than customs, become permanent ! Did they expect that abstract opinions could be accepted as laws by the multitude ; or that men possessing no foundation of virtue, and freed from habitual restraints, which were become as necessary to them, as chains to ferocious animals, would subject themselves to fresh restraints, and act with the self denial of ancient Romans ? This is not, however, what experience proves to be the nature of mankind.

The system of these visionary legislators, vanished accordingly ; and all the restraints that laws impose on the wicked part of the community, being removed, and one set of men outbidding another in the wages of iniquity, France has become a vast slaughter-house, in which human life has been held

cheaper than that of the least useful class of brute animals: and a body of men, who both devise and execute the edicts by which France is now governed, sit like Milton's council of *Pandemonium*, to blaspheme the GOD of HEAVEN, and to devise the speediest means of destruction to the fairest works of his creation !

It is a true maxim, that ignorance generally occasions self-sufficiency in individuals: and this is yet more applicable to *bodies* of ignorant men, who sharing amongst themselves the shame or guilt resulting from their measures, feel the burthen very light on each individual. Amongst other singular resolutions, the French Convention determined to overthrow all the existing governments of the earth: for it is impossible to do away that very obvious meaning of their resolution of the 19th Nov. 1792, in which, assistance was offered to *any party*, in *any country*, that wished to overthrow its existing government. Now, it is a fact, that the Convention *had* already

established such parties, in all the countries around them ; whence it is clear that the above imputation is fixed. Nearly at the same time, they had the audacity to speak of the government and people of this country, as separate parties ; and in this paroxysm of their madness, declared war against our *government* ; in the vain idea that it had a different interest from the people.

We are *now* informed (and we have the word of the Convention for it), that they mean to invade our country ; and if successful, to introduce the same bloody scene here, as they have done in France: nay, we are told, that *lists of persons that are to be GUILLOTINED, in London*, are handed about in Paris. Now this is an unequivocal declaration, as well of THEIR BELIEF OF THEIR ABILITY TO CONQUER US, as of their intention TO PUNISH US, for ideal crimes, and by arbitrary decrees of their own devising. In other words, that they mean to assassinate us, their fellow-creatures, in order to get possession of our property ; and to

make those, who have no property, SLAVES. This assassination is covered by a mock trial: for these *givers of law to the world*, have a point of conscience concerning the confiscation of property, until they have gone through the short ceremony of *condemning* the possessor. I say *condemning*; because the word *trial* is out of the question; or has a totally different meaning, in the two countries of France and England; it signifying simply, *condemnation*, in France: but in England, a matter whose termination depends on the merits of the case.

These *trials*, as they are called, constitute a chief part of the pecuniary resources of the present French government: and the other part is, the seizing of the ready money of every person; in return for which, they give their paper called *assignats*; by which it happens, that all the gold and silver (unburied) in France, is in the hands of the Convention, who circulate their assignats at *par*. With part of the

money, the Convention are endeavouring to bribe those whom they despair of reducing by other means ; and this measure they expect will cut two ways ; the one by reducing their opponents, the other by bringing back their money again, when they *are reduced*.

The above system being adopted, it is made a mark of criminality for an individual to possess gold or silver. In robbing the churches, they profess to rob nobody, because they have denied their God : however, we may justly suspect them of having appointed, in the first instance, villains who were to assume the characters of priests, merely to come forward with an offer of the plunder of the church.

In the next place, they fix a price on all the products of land, at a standard below the *natural market price* : so that the grower is made the slave of the rest of the community. Other regulations establish a *forced community* of goods, by which a man, who in other countries would deem himself, and

be deemed by others, a man of property, becomes a mere steward to as many *insolent masters*, as may choose to assume that superiority over him.

Add to this, the undefined state of the criminal code, which varies both in its form and substance, at the will of the Convention, as they may want to accomplish any particular purpose: such as in the case of Brissot, and the other deputies. Looks, gestures, or even the tears of those who mourn for their murdered relations, were deemed treasons in the eyes of the Convention. It were endless to recount the instances of assassination perpetrated by the orders of the Convention, by means of a legion of *regimented* executioners, under the title of a revolutionary army; who with their travelling guillotines, are sent in detachments to the provinces and cities meant to be punished; and exercise their "*dreadful trade*" with as little compunction, as the butchers or fishmongers. Indeed, the work of death appears to be a

science which the French have improved to the highest pitch ; and by the applauses which attend the reports of murders in the Convention, we may conclude that they value themselves on it. In a word, the *satellites* of the Convention, invade every domestic retirement, and banish all degrees of confidence between man and man : so that the order of things in society, is totally reversed : and this unhappy part of our species, who, like the rest of mankind, originally associated for their mutual assistance and comfort, only find themselves placed in a more convenient situation, to be tyrannized over, or murdered : and in the example of Lyons, the Convention seem to have almost realized the wish of Nero, respecting the people of Rome.

A detail of these executions, would even make a savage shudder. The guillotine, considered simply as an instrument of death, has perhaps as little terror about it, as any other ; was its use confined to the execution of real criminals, and only in the de-

gree requisite to enforce example in a well regulated society. But even in this particular, there is a marked distinction between the feelings of an Englishman, and a Frenchman. An Englishman executes *without shedding blood*; that he may neither distress, nor harden the minds of the spectators; who almost always *commiserate* the sufferer. But the Frenchman, on the contrary, has a savage pleasure in seeing the blood flow: he *shouts* at an execution; has been known to *tear out the heart* of the criminal; and has even been accused of *eating it*! Blush, ye Englishmen, who have followed some vain French author, in the opinion that Englishmen love blood; because *killing* often occurs on our stage, but seldom on that of the French. Alas! it is proved by dreadful experience, that the Englishman only killed *dramatically*; but the Frenchman in true earnest.

In the affair of Lyons, the guillotine was found to be too slow an instrument to dispatch the *vast multitudes* of accused per-

sons. Cannon were therefore loaded with musket balls, and repeatedly discharged on crowds of miserable victims, placed before them. As it is obvious, that many of these poor unfortunates, although dreadfully mangled, would escape mortal wounds, or immediate death; those so unhappily circumstanced, were afterwards stabbed to death with bayonets: thus, suffering, in effect, a double death! And to prove that the commissioners of the Convention, who directed these exterminations, considered them in the light of a public feast, or rejoicing, they wrote to *their body*, that on the news of the evacuation of Toulon, they had celebrated that event by *firing off 213 persons* from the cannon, that evening on which they wrote! This may be called a *feu de joie*, worthy of the French Convention, or of the demons of Hell! and the account of this transaction was read with great applause in the Convention. Horrible monsters!

Another mode of execution *in the mass* (to borrow a phrase from those who with

equal indifference, either *raise* or *sink* mankind in *masses*), was to crowd a great number of persons together in a barge, and sink them in the river Loire. Of the two, this mode of death was less savage, than that by cannon ; for here the victims could suffer the terrors of death but once. It was particularly practiced on a body of *priests*. But they were the priests of the MERCIFUL God ; and therefore obnoxious to the Convention !

Surely, there must be something in the nature of Frenchmen, which is very different from the rest of our species !

These, my countrymen, are the men, or rather the demons, who have declared their intentions of invading and subjecting you : *invading* and *subjecting*, being in their ideas, similar terms. Indeed, we are sorry to say, that the want of energy amongst some of the states, which have entered the lists against this common enemy of mankind ; the total indifference of some others ; the affected neutrality of others, merely to cover a lucrative trade, at the expence of

public character, and at the hazard of plunging all Europe into barbarism ; together with the vast numbers of the enemy : I say, that all these causes together, have given them advantages that were unexpected ; and which will require some exertion to dispossess them of. But let us not forget, my countrymen, that these are *Frenchmen*, who threaten you ; and that YOU are ENGLISHMEN, not apt to be frightened by a few hard words ! You have grown up with a consciousness of *individual* superiority, over these men ; and are you now to acknowledge your inferiority ? They are the men whom you have been accustomed to despise for their extreme servility to their *Grand Monarque* ; which was the leading feature of their character, until lately, when like some other savages, of whom you have read, they reviled and punished the object of their devotion !

If it be asked, whether the characters of these men have undergone any improvement, that should warrant our change of opinion of them ; or of our embracing

their fraternity? It can only be answered, that they have lately proved themselves to be men, thirsting after blood, in a degree unparalleled in history: and which was a part of their character not so well known to *us* before. And it would be a bad reason to urge, that, having been in the habit of following their fashions in dress, we should now follow them in changing their systems of law and policy; and new model our laws, as we did our clothes, with the season.

Can any BRITON, for a moment, recollect the scenes that have passed, and are at this instant passing, in France, and not feel a detestation for the French character, so opposite to his own, as cruelty is to mercy? Can he for a moment teach his mind to submit to the government, or fraternity of such monsters? even if it happened that they were other than Frenchmen; to whose national character every sensible Briton has a national antipathy.

My countrymen, the plain truth must

not be concealed : your political enemy is now become a *personal* enemy. He thirsts after your *blood*, because *through* your *blood*, he seeks your lands and goods. Recollect, that he receives no property from *living hands* (except from emigrants, who, are *dead* in his code of laws). Your gold and silver he indeed takes, bloodless ; but this he calls only an *exchange*, not a *robbery* ; for he gives *paper* for it : but as lands and goods cannot be converted into money, whilst none passes but *into* his hands, he has no way to property in general, but by the *sword of the law*, as he emphatically styles it.

I believe you have all been accustomed to couple together the ideas of *liberty* and *property* ; which means in effect, the *liberty* of enjoying that *property*, which you have justly acquired ; and which is the strong tie that connects together every thing that is good, in this or any other country : for without it, there can be no incentive to industry and exertion ; the springs of all active virtue.

But those who wish to subject you, use the word LIBERTY, *only* ; which, by their practice, is understood to mean, the *liberty* of taking any one's *property* they please. Let us be for *liberty* AND *property*.

They have abolished RELIGION ; that which, in teaching men to do to each other, as they wish others to do to them, connects them in the interests of each other. And are we not all sensible of the importance of a belief in a Superior Being, who distributes rewards and punishments, and who UPHOLDS THE COURSE OF NATURE ? Have we not all felt the comforts arising from a reliance on an invisible and powerful protector ? We must therefore suppose, that the torments of bad consciences gave the first idea of shutting out of the mind, thoughts which must ever be unwelcome guests in such habitations.

Think then what must be the state of society under such rulers ; where the possession of property only subjects the owner to risk ; where all friendship, confidence,

and domestic peace, is at an end ; the exercise of religion virtually, if not actually, forbidden ; where suspicion leads to a tribunal, whose *duty* consists in condemning those who are brought before it with dispatch ; and whose sentences are executed with equal promptitude, by an army of executioners, consisting of *many thousands*, actually embodied and appointed for that purpose ; and which is in effect, the instrument of power, by which the Convention hold the people in subjection.

Let every BRITON then, who has grown up in the manly habits of independance of mind, and of freely uttering every sentiment that arises in an honest mind ; who has experienced protection from equal laws, and has learnt to regard those laws as forming a system or constitution, which has been the labour of ages to form ; which his ancestors so freely bled to establish ; and under which his country has flourished so long : and finally, which from every one of these causes, he regards as his PECULIAR

BIRTHRIGHT: I say, let every BRITON, who feels the force of this appeal, lay his hand on his heart, and say, whether he can calmly look forward to a change of his situation; and whether, in his exertions to preserve these blessings, he will risk any thing that can be put in competition with them?

It however becomes a duty, to impress on his mind, that the progress of the French arms and influence in Europe, must infallibly lead to this catastrophe; and that, without certain determined and continued efforts on the side of western Europe, in order to wear out the means and spirits of this government of assassins and banditti, we cannot sit down in security. To make peace with them, is absolute and unconditional submission; and is only laying our necks on the guillotine: for what faith will those men keep, who in the case of the king's inviolability, explained away all conscience and honour. Those men who filled the prisons in order to get rid of the oppo-

site party, by a general massacre. Men who have denied their God, and *could* not, with us, make a common appeal to him, in a treaty of peace! We can have no security for the execution of a treaty from the present rulers; nor from any, who may not have a common interest with the nation they govern. In wars of rivalry, ambition, or commerce, each nation tried that part of its strength, which the collective interest of the people, admitted; and when the struggle was ended, each sat down with his gain or loss; and which did not materially affect the general state of things: for the national capital remained untouched. But the French are now squandering the capital itself: like a man who should pelt his enemy with guineas. The plan of their war, is the extermination of the human race; the subversion of established governments; of religion; and of all that has hitherto passed for virtue; in the world. Therefore the *world* must resist it; or fall into a worse state of barbarism

than has yet been recorded in history : for even the barbarous conquerors of former times, feared an avenging Deity ; and did not profess to banish order from the earth. It is therefore better, surely, to risk our persons in a contest for the invaluable blessings we enjoy, than to leave both them and our necks at the pleasure of the enemy. It is better even that a great proportion of us, should lose our lives in battle, than to leave our children so bad a legacy as the savage manners, and new-fangled principles of the French. But there is no occasion even for this loss : let us only firmly resolve to persevere in our attacks, in conjunction with the rest of Europe (for a greater proportion of it, must immediately feel the necessity of the measure), and the ability of the enemy to prosecute foreign invasions and conquests, must fail ; and some change of system must take place in France. A continued exertion, so much beyond the strength of a nation, must at length exhaust it ; war is not a trade that

any nation can live by, if pressed on every side by external enemies, and confined to its internal resources. I confess, I wish that this country would attempt to press France only on the side towards the sea. Their large fleets cannot be kept up without external commerce; for what nation can afford to breed up seamen to man their fleets? Even Britain could not do it: we do no more than take the seamen which the merchants have been at the expence of breeding up for us: therefore, if the French have no merchants, they will have but few seamen: and the expence of keeping up a fleet is so *enormous*, that nothing short of a great permanent revenue can support it. Naval stores must be purchased with money; and assignats must fall to nothing. Every resource for external war, must therefore gradually decay; as well as political enthusiasm, which can only be cherished by a consciousness of superiority of strength, and comparative situation: and the strongest argument for not giving up the

point, is, that it would increase that enthusiasm. The enthusiasm of religion, on the contrary, will triumph over difficulties, because it looks to a *certain good at last*. *Eternal sleep*, will not long take with the multitude : mankind require a cordial, rather than an opiate. Besides, political enthusiasm is not likely to be lasting, in any other than small communities.

Look at the wonderful change that has taken place in France, and let any one who is the least judge of human nature, say, whether the present temper is likely to last. They are in a situation so artificial, that it could not last, amongst the steadiest nation in Europe ; much less amongst Frenchmen. As soon as the sequestered landed property, is fully vested in small lots, will not the possessors assert their rights, and joining with the landholders in general, do away all the regulations of the Convention, that tend to restrict, and injure the sale of their products ? and will not this occasion a vast change ? It may possibly

lay the foundation of a more sober and permanent system : and let them settle their government as they please.

It is a fact, that the French were comparatively free, when they called themselves slaves ; and are now the veriest of slaves, when they call themselves free. How men who confess they grow up slaves, should allow themselves to be qualified to legislate for us free men, and for the rest of the world, can only be left to the world to determine. Like true Frenchmen, they disdained to profit by the counsels of others, and therefore rejected even the improved theory of our system, which was the acknowledged work of free men, and has stood the test of ages. But we are not to estimate the worth of our excellent constitution by our enemy's valuation of it. They who invented wild theories, instead of seeking experiments, were not likely to be men of deep judgment. They forgot that certain wise republicans of old, had recourse to the experience of those states, which had made a

greater progress than themselves, in civil government. Proceeding therefore on their own theories, and finding them nugatory, the Convention made a bold stroke, and determined at once to try the experiment of governing without laws.

The best of all human systems are subject to errors and imperfections, in the theory ; and still more, in the practice : and although this be admitted as a maxim, by mankind in general, yet certain speculative men, in every nation, fix an idea of perfection in their minds, and expect to find it realized in practice. This is the reason that such persons are ever ready to condemn the present state of things, be it what it may ; and it happening that they have no means of comparing it with another (as only one system can exist at a time), such men can never be convinced. But as the great mass of common sense, will, if exerted, press down such opinions, and prevent their operation, do you, my worthy countrymen, resolve to use YOUR common

sense on the occasion. I here allude only to the mistakes of well-intentioned men: but the FACTION WHO ACT FOR THE FRENCH, here, and who intend every kind of mischief, tell you that the French *mean well*, and are the friends of the human kind, &c. I believe you do not require to be any further informed, concerning the nature of the obligations, which the human race in general, owe to the French Convention: nor will you expect that the English would be *the most favoured nation*, if they fell into their hands. Nor have they yet been able to make you comprehend the comparative superiority of the advantages that you are to enjoy, under their government. Good Heavens! can you hear this without emotion? *under the government of Frenchmen!!!* What British husbandman, but at the horrid idea, looks at the instrument of agriculture in his hand, and considers in what manner he can best annoy a Frenchman with it! Will not a similar thought pervade the whole community? will not every knife

become a dagger, even in the hands of our women, to save the British soil from pollution, by their footsteps?

But as all cannot, from nature or habit, be qualified to exert an equal degree of opposition to an invading enemy, it is on *you*, the firm *phalanx* of our community, whose generous and healthful labours, supply us with the immediate means of life; it is on your robust exertions that we chiefly depend, in the last resort, to supply any deficiencies in our want of numbers. Your guns, which you have found unerring in the sportive field, will deal destruction on a detested enemy, who seeks for ever to destroy your domestic peace; whilst your faithful dependants, armed with pikes, may at once second your exertions, and afford you a double measure of protection.

Once more, my generous countrymen, let me remind you, that you have more to lose than to gain, by a change. At all events, we must, in the first instance, lose the good we *now* possess; because a *change*, must in its na-

ture take away what now exists, and substitute something else for it : therefore the *good*, as well as the *bad*, must go. And if we may judge by what we see, over the water, the *evil* will predominate so far, as to make the good of little value.

Certain persons talk of a reform in your government ; and would have you believe them to be the *moderate* party. Believe me, these are a very dangerous class of enemies, from their being insidious. It is the only form in which they can bring their mischief forward ; for they will not avow that they mean to ruin you, because you would scout them at once ; but they humbly beg, from the regard they have for you, that you will entrust them with your concerns ; in order that they may have an opportunity of ruining you. Recollect, that the present state of France is owing to a set of men getting into power, by pretending to their fellow-citizens that *they were the only men who could serve them*. And you are not without a few of the same sort

of men here. But admitting that a reform was necessary, is this a time for it? Would any wise man spread out his gunpowder to dry, when there was a fire in the street? Would any man spend his time in detecting an abuse in his household, when his house was on fire, and he in danger of losing all that remained? In reforming an abuse of a comparatively trifling kind, at a wrong season, we may endanger our safety. Times of tranquillity are the times for reform: and all good subjects, and well meaning men, will wait till that season; and then, in God's name, let what is wrong be set right. You may be told, that the time for reform is when the government has a great deal of pressing matter on its hands; but you cannot be at a loss to know, by the management of your own concerns, how false a position this is. The attention of the pilot is not to be withdrawn from the helm, when the ship is in danger. But they want to have the helm deserted, in order that the ship may be *wrecked*; on the idea that a wreck is *fair plunder*.

There is another set of men who are still more to be suspected ; and they are those, who advise you to lay down your arms: for they counsel you to *immediate destruction*. These men either want judgment, or they want honesty. Those among them who lay themselves out to persuade you, are certainly of the *latter class* ; for if a man feels that he has powers to convince, he certainly possesses understanding and reflection enough, to see the matter in its just point of view : therefore let him be watched. And if you believe, as I do, that you have professed friends and advocates for the French among you, you may be certain that the French rulers are desirous of a peace at this moment, notwithstanding their blustering ; or those advocates are very ill instructed, indeed. A war may operate on the French, as a peace would on us.

Peace, or war, is not an abstract question, as heretofore : it is now a question of plain common sense ; it is, whether you will fight the tiger, or let him devour you. He can only do the last, when he has over-

come you : and it is better to *die fighting*, than to be *devoured alive*.

I am aware that the foreign merchant shrinks from every obstacle that prevents him from exercising his schemes of commerce, freely : and I sincerely deplore the evils that have arisen to trade, from the deranged state of matters on the continent : and this, still more on the score of the manufacturers, than the merchants. But these evils were unavoidable ; and arise from the vast *vacuity* in the market of Europe, occasioned by the virtual removal of France from the system. Had commerce alone been the object, we might have continued to supply the market of France, with our arms, provisions, and cloathing (perhaps with ammunition also), until by means of our supplies, the French had conquered the rest of Europe ; and then they would have just been in a condition to take from our merchants, in a *lump*, what they had been paid in *detail*, for their goods.

Admitting, for the sake of argument,

what I will by no means admit as fact, that a continuance of the war would suspend a great part of our commerce ; I would ask, is the soil of Great Britain of less importance than *that proportion* of its manufactures which it can export ? for this is the question ? We cannot subsist on trade without the land ; but certainly on the land, with a smaller proportion of trade : or even without it, if it became a question, which of the two interests should be abandoned. Away, then, with all *snivelling* about a partial suspension of our trade ! The merchant is a most useful member of the community ; but his department is a secondary object, where the precious treasures of our CONSTITUTION and INDEPENDANCE are in question, if it were possible to suppose that trade could exist, *separate from them*. But I will prove to the merchant, that a peace at this time, would be fatal to him. For as soon as we disarm, the enemy's cruizers of all descriptions will be let loose on our trade. For although the tyrants of Paris

may grant us a peace, what security is there for their preserving their faith? No such government can be expected to last long enough, to encourage us to disarm. Remember the fate of Brissot. But suppose that the Convention may wish for peace: the people of Brittany, Normandy, &c. may find it more their interest to turn pirates, on the disarmed English. The monarchy had the power of *disarming*, as well as of *arming*, the people: but who possesses that power now? Let us direct our efforts entirely to the destruction of the enemy's *fleets and commerce*. We ought to *encircle his coast* with cruizers of every description, and gradually destroy his means of offence. This is the way to give security to *our* trade, and to annihilate *his*: and we can wage war with him a long time in this way: therefore war is the measure that will not only protect our commerce, but eventually increase it, by completing the destruction of the enemy's commerce. However, commerce, as it regards the present ques-

tion of internal security and independance; is a mere *balloon*. Although we should risk our all for it at present, it may hereafter take its flight to some other country. Let us then strive to keep possession of the *stage*, and not commit ourselves entirely to the *aerial machine*; not knowing whither it may carry us. Possessed of the *stage* and *materials*, we may again send off our *balloon*.

I know there are thoughtless people who consider the giving up even a part of their luxuries, as one of the greatest evils that can befall them: and, no doubt, there are very many people of both sexes who have reposed in the *lap of ease* all their lives, and would rather go on as they do, than forego their luxuries, and contribute liberally to the support of the GREAT CAUSE. To such, I do not address myself; leaving to the government of the country the task of abridging their luxuries, and of saving them from worse evils than they themselves apprehend.

In a word, MY VALIANT COUNTRYMEN, we are committed in a contest, which to give up, is to turn our back on an armed foe, standing within reach of us. Recollect the bright pages of our history, which are ever those which describe the contests between this country and France. Recollect that France is separated from us by the sea: and that its inhabitants, even if they were so inclined, cannot be wafted across it, in numbers sufficient to hazard our independence, whilst we have fleets, and are faithful to ourselves. Recollect also, that no country of this extent *can be conquered* by a single nation, if we are determined to be independent, and to risk our lives for it. Every instrument becomes a weapon in the hands of a brave man; and every brave man becomes a combatant, when he feels his independence at stake. Decision in war is regulated by opinion: Britons have ever thought themselves invincible; and their active courage and perseverance

have made them so. Unanimity will appal the enemy ; and oppose a phalanx, which nothing can break through.

In a review of this question, we are not to take into it, personal or individual considerations ; otherwise we shall not meet our enemy on fair ground. But we regard ourselves as a part of a community, for which we toil and fight, to defend and to perpetuate. We look forward to a glorious termination of a contest, which is to place our children and successors, in the same state as our predecessors have placed us. Had SELF been the first object with our ancestors, we should have had but little of our own to fight for ; and should only have fought the battles of others. But now we are called on by whatever is GREAT and GLORIOUS, to second the generous efforts of our forefathers ; and to uphold an establishment which has been the envy and admiration of the world : and even of Frenchmen, whilst in a sober state.

OURSELVES are but a part of the stake: our wives, our children, our friends, and connections, are a much greater part of it. *We smile in death*, when we leave them in peace and prosperity: but if we give up the cause, we only live for the time our enemies may allot us, subject to the stings of self-reproach, for having basely deserted our post; and to be eye witnesses of the *dishonour*, the *bondage*, and the *wretchedness*, of our posterity, and our connections.

London, January 20, 1794.

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 of our posterity, and our connections.

London, January 22, 1794

